

“A FEAST OF MUSIC”: THE GRECO-LYDIAN MUSICAL MOVEMENT ON THE ASSYRIAN PERIPHERY

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It was once believed that Lydia was a crucial intermediary for the Greek importation of Near Eastern cultural artifacts, that Sardis was “un vaste champ d’études, un merveilleux foyer d’inspiration” (Radet 1893, 304). But growing archaeological evidence has led many scholars to see in the wide-ranging Greco-Levantine maritime routes a more general and efficient explanation for the circulation of orientalia both in the Late Bronze Age and the later Orientalizing Epoch (ca. 750–650 BC; Dunbabin 1957, 24–43, 62, 65–71; Akurgal 1962; Boardman 1964; Morris 1992; West 1997a, 3–4). Lydia has thus come to be regarded by many as somewhat backward and provincial, learning more from the Greeks than the reverse; the two usual examples are the alphabet and the orientalizing style in pottery, which appear in Lydia somewhat later than in other parts of the Aegean (Hanfmann 1953; Dunbabin 1957, 62–71; Greenewalt 1970; Powell 1991, 11 n. 16). On the other hand it is certain that Lydia was a principal inspiration for the Greek cultivation of *habrosunê*, the “luxurious living” that was a cardinal ideal of the Archaic elite (Bowra 1941; Mazzarino 1947, 192–246; Bowra 1957; Lombardo 1983; Nenci 1983; Kurke 1992; Miller 1997, 252). Here I will attempt to reconcile these two positions by arguing that, with the accession (coup?) of Gyges and his revamping of the Royal Court in the early-seventh century, we may detect a sudden spike of Mesopotamian influence on the culture of the Lydian elite, due to the Mermnads’ emulation of Assyrian court life. Sardis was thus able to make a unique contribution to Archaic Greek orientalism through a continuous, focused infusion of classical Mesopotamian art and learning into the Greco-Lydian, and thence wider Greek, world. Interestingly, rather extensive evidence for this phenomenon emerges in the musical sphere, and this has important implications for the nature of Archaic Greek lyric. (Naturally, the Greco-Lydian musical movement must have involved a strong local Anatolian element; but this dimension I will consider in a separate publication.)

In the early Iron Age, Lydia’s geographical position probably lay beyond the sphere of significant Mesopotamian contact. This began to change, however, with the Neo-Assyrian expansion. Already the Heraclid fortification of the acropolis at Sardis (ca. 700 BC) reveals Mesopotamian construction techniques, although this is balanced by traditional Anatolian elements (Hanfmann 1983, 75, 89). Legendary material recorded by later historians, and deriving in part from a Lydian king list, links the Heraclids to Mesopotamia through a mythological descent from Belus < Bel and Ninus < Ninurta or Nineveh (Herodotus, *Hist.* 1.7; Ctesias, *FGrH* 688 F 1). But this material was probably not contrived until the seventh century (see below), and Gyges (r. ca. 685–52 BC), the first Lydian king recorded in Mesopotamian annals, seems to have been the first to establish substantial links with Assyria. This at least is the impression one gets from the well-known tale recorded by the scribes of Nineveh. Early in the reign of Ashurbanipal (ca. 668–33 BC), Cimmerian incursions compelled Gyges, like Midas before him, to appeal for Assyrian military intervention. Approached with the proper form of ingratiating (and, for Gyges, face-saving) diplomacy – that the god Ashur himself

had so instructed the Lydian king in a dream – the Assyrians recorded the fact, or claim, that no imperial interpreter could understand the envoys' language (Cogan and Tadmor 1977, 78 n. 25, with adjusted date of ca. 645 BC for the death of Gyges; cf. Hartman 1962; Spalinger 1978). It may be, of course, that this episode only reflects Ashurbanipal's condescending reaction to a parvenu. At any rate, Gyges now came under Assyrian protection, and Lydia was probably regarded as a subject state for the first time; Sardis may appear in a damaged Neo-Assyrian province list (Fales and Postgate 1995, 1), and such claims would explain why, centuries later, Ctesias included Lydia, with the rest of Anatolia, among the states conquered by "Ninus" (*FGrH* 688 F 1). In reality, Lydia must have belonged, like Cyprus (Reyes 1994, 49–68), to the tribute-paying periphery beyond the provinces proper. Although Gyges later conspired with the Egyptian pharaoh Psammetichus I, his death in the Cimmerian sack of Sardis forced Ardys (ca. 652–630 BC) to return to the fold (Herodotus, *Hist.* 1.15, 2.152). The Assyrians probably now required royal Lydian hostages. This was certainly the case under the Neo-Babylonian state in the sixth century, when a handful of Lydians – seemingly a Mermnad prince and attendants – is found residing at the palace of Nebuchadnezzar II (Weidner 1939, 934). Such guests would certainly have been well treated – hence the relatively generous allowances recorded in Assyrian archives – and quite possibly received a formal education, or at least prolonged exposure to classical Mesopotamian culture. Relations of this sort recall the figure of Meles, one of the semi-legendary Heraclid kings, who was said to have retired voluntarily, on the basis of an oracle, to Babylon for expiation of a murder (Nic. Dam. *FGrH* 90 F 16, 45). Whatever its historical value, the tale at least demonstrates Lydian reverence of Mesopotamian wisdom and science.

Under Alyattes (ca. 610–560 BC) came Hanfmann's "diffusion jump" of Assyrian influence in the remodeling of the ancient Heraclid palace, and the construction of a massive wall enclosing the traditional mudbrick, reed-roofed huts of lower Sardis. These improvements were paid for by a profitable gold harvest from the Pactolus, the same stream that had enriched the golden-touched Mita of Mushki. A Lydian "gold rush" made a vigorous overland trade with Assyria fully intelligible, and accords well both with the explosion of their commercial activities in the seventh century, and the fact that Babylonian weight and value standards underlie the Greco-Lydian coinage that arose in the seventh century under a royal monopoly (Hanfmann 1983, 71, 75–78, 80–85; cf. Burkert 1992, 14, 37–38). It has been held that Cimmerian incursions prevented significant trade between Lydia and points eastwards at this time (Dunbabin 1957, 68, cf. 62; Roebuck 1959, 53; Birmingham 1961, 195). Yet what else would have motivated Assyria to intervene? They must have been protecting a profitable tributary to their own commercial system, with probably more than sporadic success. This was an old Hittite route, renovated previously during the Phrygian ascendancy, which would eventually form a western spur of the Persian "Royal Road," itself an adaptation of a comprehensive Assyrian network of communications and trade (Ramsay 1927, 145–170; Osten 1951; Birmingham 1961; Young 1963; Kessler 1997).

Lydian prosperity culminated at this time in the monumental aspirations of Alyattes, who campaigned much more vigorously against the Greek coastal cities than had his predecessors (Herodotus, *Hist.* 1.16–25). Alyattes employed typical Near Eastern strategies in his destruction of orchards and crops, and was inspired by specific Assyrian tactics in the siege mound and sapping which led to the fall of Smyrna (ca. 600 BC), and the mass (if relatively local) deportation of its inhabitants (Herodotus, *Hist.* 1.17–19; Str. 14.1.37. Cf. Cook 1958–1959, 24–25; Oded 1979; Cole 1997). He raised for himself an enormous burial tumulus at Bin Tepe which, according to Herodotus, rivaled anything in Babylon or Egypt (Herodotus, *Hist.* 1.93; Strabo, *Geog.* 13.4.7; cf. Xen. *Cyr.* 7.2.11). That of course was the intention. A similar bid for Near Eastern-style monarchy may be inferred from the construction of the Lydian king list, which lies somewhere behind the accounts of Herodotus and Xanthus, whence variously Nicolaus of Damascus and the Greek chronographers. While this document's use of varying lengths of rule for the pre-Mermnad kings suggests at first an authoritative and accurate record, like other such lists this is undermined by its eventual resort to legendary

and mythological figures (here spanning twenty-two generations). In fact, it is doubtful whether any such list existed in written form before the Mermnads. As Burkert has argued, the genealogy via Belus and Ninus was probably contrived under the Mermnad dynasty, perhaps in the reign of Gyges, to reflect the new diplomatic ties with Assyria and to provide the usurper with a credible pedigree. The alleged descent from Heracles, and hence genealogical involvement with Greeks, may have come even later, a Greco-Lydia poetic derivative of the sixth-century alliance with Sparta (Burkert 1995, 144–45; but cf. Mazzarino 1947, 172–73). At the same time, it is important that the sequence Ninus-Belus faithfully preserves a Mesopotamian mythological construct, one not found in the remains of Hesiod's genealogies (see Talamo 1979, 40–41, 53). Here is strong evidence for direct Greco-Lydia exposure to Mesopotamian poetics; it is tempting to suspect the involvement of Magnes, Gyges' ostentatious praise-singer.

In the vacuum and struggle following the destruction of Nineveh in 612 BC, Lydia came to blows with first the Medes and then the Persians. It has been much debated whether Thales, while employed by Alyattes as a military engineer, could have had recourse to Babylonian astronomical records when he is said to have predicted the eclipse of May 28, 585 which halted the battle between Lydians and Medes, or indeed whether Babylonian savants could have made an accurate prediction of this sort for Anatolia. Neugebauer has pronounced its impossibility (Neugebauer 1957, 141–44; Neugebauer 1963; cf. *inter alios* Panchenko 1994; Dalley et al. 1998, 103, 129–30). It is worth recalling, however, that the ensuing truce via diplomatic marriage was negotiated by the kings of Babylon and Cilicia. In the post-Assyrian conflicts, the Mermnads remained closely aligned with Babylon; Nebuchadnezzar II, like Ashurbanipal before him, claimed Lydia as the Western limit of his empire (Lambert 1965, 2). Clearly Lydia had become a permanent presence in Mesopotamian power politics. And when the Persians captured Sardis in 546 BC, the Babylonians duly recorded the defeat of Croesus' defeat (Smith 1924, 101, 116, 120; Cargill 1977).

Given this orientation of the Mermnad court, it would not be surprising if Lydian musicians of the time cultivated a taste for the contemporary and/or classical Mesopotamian art. It is probable in fact that the Neo-Assyrian emperors promoted such a fashion among their client states for ideological purposes. Their archives and reliefs attest the frequent transfer of musicians, as prizes of conquest or diplomatic gifts, to Nineveh from various subject states. Records of wine rations from Nimrud, spanning perhaps half of the eighth century, show that as many as two hundred and forty musicians, both male and female, might be resident in the palace at any one time, including a large proportion of foreigners: Kassite, Chaldaean, (Neo-)Hittite, Aramaean, Tabalites, Arpadites, and Kommagenes are all specified, and we have only a small fraction of the original records (Kinnier Wilson 1972, nos. 6.40–42, 15.7–11, 16.27–31, 21.6 [discussion 76–78]; Dalley and Postgate 1984, no. 145.iii.19–23; cf. 22 for redating of texts. Cf. Cheng 2001, 68, 118–20). Similarly, one bread list from the palace of Sargon (ca. 721–705 BC) contains a large enough distribution for perhaps two hundred musicians (Kinnier Wilson 1972, no. 35). A relief from the reign of Sennacherib (704–681 BC) shows three foreign lyre-players being driven into captivity; it is generally thought that these are the Judaeans mentioned in the emperor's annals, sent as tribute by Hezekiah after the campaign of 701.¹ (The famous lament of Ps. 137:1–4, "how shall we sing the lord's song in a strange land?" relates rather to the great exile in the Neo-Babylonian period; but it is worth noting that Ezra itemizes 328 singers among those liberated by Cyrus half a century later [2:41, 65, 70], while Nehemiah makes it 245 [7:1, 67, 73, 12:27–47]). From Esarhaddon (680–669 BC) we have a list of sixty-one foreign musicians being housed for some special event, including perhaps Anatolian "Corybantes" alongside Tyrians, Kassites, Aramaeans, and (Neo-)Hittites (Fales and Postgate 1992, no. 24.20–27 [discussion XVII–XIX]; cf. nos. 26.8, 140, 142.5). A propaganda piece from Ashurbanipal's reign shows the so-called Elamite Orchestra – a large ensemble of vertical and horizontal harps, pipes, drum and possibly singers/dancers – celebrating the accession of Ummanigash, the emperor's appointee after the defeat of Teuman (BM 124802, Rashid 1984, 136–39, figs. 151–153). Another relief from the same period seems to show a performance of Arab musicians, echoing a cuneiform source

that describes Arab prisoners toiling with song to the delight of their Assyrian captors, who clamored for more.² Other groups of unknown ethnicity are marked as non-Assyrian by differences of instrument, dress, and hairstyle, and some may even be shown in Assyrian garb (Cheng 2001, 68–69, 78–83, cf. 118–19).

A pavement inscription from Sargon's palace at Khorsabad seems to describe this musical cosmopolis in a sort of imperial proclamation:

From the princes of the four regions (of the world), who had submitted to the yoke of my rule, whose lives I had spared, together with the governors of my land, the scribes and superintendents, the nobles, officials and elders, I received their rich gifts as tribute. I caused them to sit down at a banquet and instituted a feast of music [*nigûtu*].³

This material might suggest that political alignment with Assyria also entailed cultural opportunities, with music serving as a sort of common language in the banquet halls where recipients of the Assyrian peace mingled. And, where a spotlight was always on the central power at Nineveh – reflected. All this may be reflected in the famous relief of Ashurbanipal reclining in a one-man symposium among his women (BM 124920, Rashid 1984, 130 and fig. 147). This moment of fertile tranquility was originally the centerpiece of a large composition that included scenes of military triumph over Egypt, Elam, and Babylonia, a novel counterpoint of traditional motifs intended to evoke appreciation for the ultimate rewards of the Assyrian imperial endeavour (Albenda 1976–1977). It has been observed that eight of the ten musical representations known from the palace were found among these fragments, and plausibly suggested that this complex was a banqueting hall that featured performances by the many musicians of the Emperor's "harem" (Cheng 2001, 154–55). If so, we may assume a very international, if intimate, atmosphere. At the same time, it is striking that all of the musical representations – with the exception of the banquet scene itself – feature Assyrian male musicians in the overtly public and nationalistic contexts of triumph, hunt, and religious ritual. If one may assume that the musical imagery is consistent with the ideology of the larger composition – and this would be entirely consistent with the conventions of other imperial relief-groups (see, e.g., Winter 1981) – there emerges a picture of Assyrian music, with its classical Mesopotamian basis, in a dominant position. The music of subject nations, represented in large part by captive female musicians, is gathered, mingled, fertilized by the emperor himself. The resulting fusion is presented "in Assyrian dress" (Cheng 2001, 117–25) at the same form of celebration that Sargon had used to symbolize the Assyrian peace. Access to these delights of the imperial *penetralia* was restricted to those who had submitted to the emperor and were absorbed into the Assyrian cosmos.

The musical representations, then, accord with the allegory of the larger composition. But there is no reason to doubt that the individual scenes have some basis in reality, granting the inevitable distortions introduced, consciously or unconsciously, by ideological and cultural bias. It is reasonable to assume, therefore, that from the late-eighth century, and perhaps earlier, the Assyrian emperors actively cultivated a cosmopolitan but Mesopotamianizing musical movement in their own palaces, and encouraged the "princes of the four regions" to do the same. Ashurbanipal especially is known to have been an enthusiastic patron of arts and letters; the musical program proposed here would accord well with his aim, in establishing his great library, to assemble in one place all of Mesopotamian learning (cf. Livingstone 1989, XVI – XXXI).

In the absence of Lydian records and the relative paucity of material evidence from Sardis, we must turn to the Greek poets and musicians to find support for the present hypothesis. The Greco-Lydian *koinê* of the seventh and sixth centuries, and the real or alleged involvement of Terpander, Magnes, Alcman, Aesop, Alcaeus, Hipponax, Sappho, and Solon, need not be reviewed here.⁴ The statement of Herodotus, that "the Greeks and Lydians make use of very similar customs" and that "all the *sophistai* of Greece came to Sardis at the height of its wealth" (Herodotus, *Hist.* 1.29, 1.94), will suffice.

The crucial indicator of Assyrian emulation is the prominence in Lydia of harps. These were almost certainly a novelty in seventh-century western Anatolia, where the musical inheritance from the Bronze Age was a tradition rather of lyres (Schuol 2004, 57, 107–8). As I will argue elsewhere, these Lydian lyres probably underlie the enigmatic "Asiatic *kithara*" of Euripides, Aristophanes, and the Greek lexicographers, and should be connected with the classical form of the Greek *kithara*, which begins to appear in the ceramic record only in the late seventh century (Maas and Snyder 1989, 31–32, 41).

Various types of harp are directly attested in Archaic poetry from the late seventh century.⁵ Pindar (fr. 125), who elsewhere reveals a keen interest in and knowledge of musical history (Nagy 1990; Franklin forthcoming), offers a still earlier association when he attributes, to the symbolic founding-father of Greek citharody, the invention of the *barbitos*,

Which once upon a time, it seems, the Lesbian Terpander
First devised, when hearing at Lydian banquets
The octave-answering strum of the lofty harp (*hupsêlâs ... paktidos*).⁶

The *barbitos*, or *barmos* as it appears in Alcaeus, Sappho, and Anacreon, was the Greek baritone lyre (Maas and Snyder 1989, 39–40, 113–38). It was most at home when "taking part in the symposium," in the words of Alcaeus (fr. 70.3–4). In the Classical period, harps were generally familiar in Greece, being well attested in Athenian drama (West 1992, 72 n. 105 for sources). But the Archaic material relates principally to poets of the eastern Aegean, and especially Lesbos: Terpander, Sappho, Alcaeus and Anacreon (Maas and Snyder 1989, 40–41; West 1992, 71). Alcman, with Lydian associations ranging from circumstantial to essential, is readily included in this musical world. These instruments were apparently in vogue among the Archaic gentry here for use in the symposium, alongside the *barbitos*. By contrast, the ceramic record clearly demonstrates that the *kithara* was, by the end of the Archaic period, the instrument of professional musicians; a constant attribute of Apollo among the Olympians, one may conclude that its distribution had become pan-Hellenic by ca. 525 BC (Maas and Snyder 1989, 41, 53–78). From the late fourth century onwards, however, Aristoxenus and other antiquarians display some confusion about the exact identity of the various harps mentioned by the early poets, and Aristotle refers to both harps and *barbitoi* as instruments of "the ancients," as though they had been out of fashion for some generations – and certainly Plato and Aristotle rejected the harp as being unsuitable for gentlemen's edification.⁷ In Attic drama these instruments appear as an archaism in romanticized visions of Lydia and Phrygia, often with an erotic flavor; this relates to the continued use of harps by women, both *hetairai* and respectable wives, as seen in Attic vases from the second half of the fifth century (see below). The period of the "Greek" harp's respectability as a male instrument thus coincides quite closely with the rise and fall of Mermnad Lydia. This should be added to the abundant evidence for the vilification of Lydia following the Persian conquest and especially the Persian Wars (for which Miller 1997 *passim*).

To the best of my knowledge no musical representation has yet been found from Archaic Sardis (cf. Hanfmann 1983, 89). But while the Greeks believed that their triangular harp (*trigônos*) was a Lydian invention, their own representations of the instrument clearly resemble Mesopotamian models (already Flach 1883, 105; Radet 1893, 265; West 1997a). Juba (*FGrH* 275 F 15) indeed asserts for the harp an origin among the "Syrians," which in Greek sources may often be taken for "Assyrians;" but the value of this testimony is limited, since other historians proposed other derivations, and by the Hellenistic period it seems that many varieties of harp were known from many places. In Assyrian reliefs, the upright triangular harp was not a military instrument but appears in garden and banquet scenes of the sort we may imagine in Pindar's portrait of Terpander at Lydian feasts (BM 124922, 124920, Rashid 1984, 126 and fig. 145, 130 and fig. 147). This instrument clearly included a deep register, and it should be this aspect of the *pêktis* that served as a model for the *barbitos*, if there is any historical value in Pindar's account; for the *barbitos*, at

least in its Classical form, differed from other Greek lyres by its register, and not its number of strings, which must have been seven usually.⁸ That said, it is intriguing to note that Theocritus calls the *barbitos* of Simonides *poluchordos* (Theoc. 16.45), as though some vestige of its origin in harps had survived into the fifth century and via Alexandrian antiquarianism.

The Assyrian horizontal harps certainly *were* used in military contexts (BM 124696, 124948; cf. Rashid 1984, figs. 71–74, 134–138, 141, 146). Its players are always standing or walking, and appear in triumphal and ritual scenes where we may suppose them to be, or to have been, marching or parading. There is also the victory procession of singers, harps, and percussion mentioned in the account of Sargon's eighth campaign (Thureau-Dangin 1912, line 159 with 27 n. 4; Luckenbill 1926–1927, 2, 83). And whatever the Assyrian practice, processions of *vertical* harps seem to have been normal elsewhere, as shown by the Elamite Orchestra. As objects of Assyrian representation and manipulation, these musicians have been somewhat displaced from their native context (Cheng 2001, 23, 91). But the same combination of horizontal and vertical harp, apparently in procession, appears independently in an Elamo-Persian context ca. 700 BC (the Malamir relief: Duchesne-Guillemin 1969, pl. V, fig. 13), and elsewhere upright harpers are shown standing as often as not. We may assume, therefore, that the Elamite Orchestra is at least shown in normal performance conditions, and that processions of upright harpers were a familiar part of the Neo-Assyrian musical *koinê*.

One can now detect an Assyrian flavor in Herodotus' description (*Hist.* 1.17) of Alyattes marching against Miletus "to the accompaniment of panpipes (*suringes*), harps (*pêktides*), and bass and treble pipes (*auloi*)."⁹ It may well be that Herodotus' source (using the term loosely) was able to specify this information because it had struck contemporary observers as a novelty, and so had stuck in cultural memory. One can only wonder whether the Lydians would have maintained the Assyrian custom of excluding upright harps from military use. (This question might be answered if one could be sure that Herodotus and Pindar intended the same instrument by *pêktis*, and if one understood the sense of the latter's *hupsêlâs*; as it is, the word might mean either "high-pitched" or "lofty/tall," one suitable for one kind of harp, one for the other.) Note also the distinction of two sizes of pipes in Herodotus' account, which might recall those in one Assyrian relief (BM 124922, Rashid 1984, 126 and fig. 145), since this is clearly not an attempt at perspective; and that "long pipes" may be distinguished in Akkadian texts (Cheng 2001, 35). Large military bands on the Near Eastern model may have become popular at this time, adapted to local instrumentation. According to Pausanias (3.17.5; cf. Thucydides 5.70; Ath. 517A, 627D), the Spartans had once marched to the *lura*, *kithara* and *aulos* (whereas in the Classical period the *aulos* seems to have been the sole instrument of the Spartan military). One of the so-called Cypro-Phoenician bowls from the early seventh century shows a military procession of lyre, double-pipe, and frame-drum (New York 74.51.4556 = Markoe 1985, Cy7). To the best of my knowledge, however, there is no parallel for the Lydian use of military harps outside of Mesopotamia, or indeed Assyria. The Lydian inclusion of panpipes might then be seen as an eccentric, perhaps quaint local touch.

The predominantly sympotic role of the *barbitos* and the popularity of harps in the Archaic period, along with the association of both in the mind of Pindar with Lydian feasts, suggest that Sardis made an important contribution to the conventions, or at least outward style, of the early Greek symposium.

Central to the creation and maintenance of aristocratic social identity throughout the Archaic and Classical periods, the symposium's main socio-structural features and most of its practical manners were already in place before the end of the eighth century, being supposed behind several Homeric banquet descriptions, as well as the famous Cup of Nestor, whose find-context at Pithekoussai supplies a rough but secure *terminus* ca. 725 (Murray 1984; 1994a; Wecowski 2002a, 2002b). By contrast it is only at the end of the seventh century that the custom of reclining appears in the ceramic record. Corinth apparently leads, followed by Attica, Laconia, Boeotia and the east Greek cities (Dentzer 1982, 78–130), but it must be stressed

that this chronology may well need adjustment as new finds come to light since for some areas, especially in the east Aegean, the material record is quite unevenly represented. Alcman gives the first unambiguous testimony of reclining in Archaic poetry (fr. 19 *PMGF*), roughly contemporary with the ceramic evidence. But it is hard to doubt that, when Archilochus sang "and reclining on my spear I drink" (fr. 2 West *IE*²), he was contrasting a mercenary's hardships with the pleasures of the symposium – where after all these verses were likely to have been heard (Murray 1984, 52–53). This would take us back to the middle of the seventh century or earlier, and bolster significantly the dossier of east Greek evidence (cf. Fehr 1971, 26). To this one may now add the banqueting hall at Hyria on Naxos, constructed around ca. 625 BC, seemingly built to accommodate *klinai*.⁹

The lack of earlier evidence notwithstanding, it is generally assumed that the custom of reclining was as old as the new aristocratic symposium itself, to be counted among other orientalizing imports from the Levant, where the *banquet couché* is attested for the eighth century by Amos (6:3–7; Murray 1994b, 48–49). Several Levantine representations of the reclining banquet have now been found on Crete and Euboea in contexts as early as the ninth century (Popham et al. 1988–1989; Popham 1995; Matthäus 1993; 1999–2000). But these few examples are not proof that the custom had been adopted widely or even at all in the Aegean at this time, any more than, for example, Mycenaean pottery at Avaris proves a colony at the Hyksos capital (cf. Wecowski 2002a, 626 n. 3). In general terms, Murray thinks of a gradual downwards proliferation of the symposium from an obsolescent warrior elite to the emergent hoplite class (1984, 264–65). By this plausible view the relatively late representations of reclining symposia might be seen in terms of a devolution of status markers, appropriately reflected in a downmarket version of *paterai* in precious metals. That this process could be extended far enough backwards to account for the isolated ninth-century examples, however, must remain uncertain. It may well be, as Wecowski suggests, that the custom of reclining "does not belong to what we may call the very core of the symposion" (2002a, n. 3).

An important factor that has been overlooked in this debate is Greek emulation of Lydian *habrosunê*, known from many other indications. Wherever and whenever the origins of Greek reclining, it is striking that the ceramic evidence coincides not with the great age of Levantine expansion in the ninth and eighth centuries – even if this can account for the isolated examples from Crete and Euboea – but rather with the Lydian acme. I have argued that the prosperity of the Mermnad dynasty was itself due in no small part to a sort of client-patron relationship with Assyria, also at the height of its wealth. The reclining banquet was known in Nineveh at this time, even if the Assyrians themselves probably adopted the practice from abroad, perhaps a result of conquests in Syria and the Levant, in appropriating the luxuries of the vanquished (Dentzer 1982, 51–58; Rathje 1990, 284; Carter 1995; Reade 1995, 47–48). The relief of Ashurbanipal shows that reclining was, if not a royal prerogative (cf. Reade 1995, 45–47), one at least with the highest cachet. There is every reason to suppose that the Mermnad kings would have imitated this posture, invested with much more prestige by the Assyrian emperors than any Greek contemporaries or predecessors could have given it. And once reclining was practiced in "Sardis at the height of its wealth" and witnessed by "all the *sophistai* of Greece," its mainstreaming throughout Hellas would have been heavily accelerated, to be complete by the middle of the sixth century. Gyges and his successors were, if not the original *turannoi* – often supposed to be an Anatolian loanword, and first attested in Archilochus, who used it of Gyges (Archil. fr. 19; cf. Hippias *FGrH* 6 F 6) – at least the most conspicuous and influential at this time. A close connection between Sardis and Corinth, the city that leads Dentzer's chronology, is seen from the alliance between Alyattes and Periander, that the Lydian dedications at Delphi were stored in the Corinthian treasury, and that Arion of Lesbos, resident at Periander's court, was a Greco-Lydian musician in the Terpandrian mold (Herodotus, *Hist.* 1.14, 1.23, 3.48–49; Nic. Dam. *FGrH* 90 F 59; Apollodorus *FGrH* 244 F 332a; Plut. *Mor.* 859F; Diog. Laert. 1.95, 1.99). Alcaeus of course had Lydian support in his bid for power in Mytilene (e.g., Page 1955, 226–34).

But most interesting for this discussion is Polycrates of Samos who, according to Clearchus, vigorously pursued the Lydian lifestyle. While he comes relatively late (fl. ca. 540–522) – emerging in aftermath of Croesus’ defeat by the Persians – this very fact shines light on his establishment of a sort of red-light district or “lovers’ lane” to rival that of Sardis, and that he “filled Hellas” with all sorts of decadent treats. We may infer that after the fall of Sardis the party had to move elsewhere, and that Samos became a hot new destination (Clearchus fr. 43a/b, 44 W = Ath. 540F–541a, cf. 516C–D, 540D–E). Polycrates also has special musical significance given his patronage of Anacreon, the “*barbitos*-loving,” “Lydopathic” symposium poet who eventually became a symbol of symposium poetry and a stereotyped subject of poetic romance (Anac. PMG 481; Herodotus, *Hist.* 3.121; Critias DK 88 B 1.4; Ath. 673D).

A strong parallel for the reclining banquet as an adaptation of Lydo-Assyrian custom is the Greek use of parasols in the late Archaic and Classical periods (for which see Miller 1992; Miller 1997, 193–98). A prominent emblem of royalty in Neo-Assyrian reliefs, its adoption on the imperial periphery is attested for the Levant, Urartu, and among the Persians, who would incorporate it into their own royal iconography. Despite the lack of finds or representations from Lydia, these parallels make it virtually certain that the parasol was in use there prior to the Persian conquest. This derives strong support from fragments of parasols found at Gordion and Samos in seventh-century contexts (cf. Kurtz and Boardman 1986). To this one may add the further testimony of Clearchus, who describes the (putatively) pre-conquest Lydians as “thinking it more luxurious that the rays of the sun never fall on them” (fr. 43a). Here then is striking “material” confirmation of an Assyrianizing fashion in Lydia, once again with sympotic resonances.

It is now recognized that the symposium provided the primary stage for the composition and performance of Archaic monody (Reitzenstein 1893; West 1974, 11–17; Vetta 1983, xi–lx; Murray 1984, 264, 271–72; Bowie 1986; Gentili 1988, 89–104; Schmitt-Pantel 1990). It would be here that a novel aristocratic musical movement would be most energetically developed. Pindar, perhaps in the same poem in which he sang of Terpander’s invention of the *barbitos* at Lydian feasts, asserted that the Lesbian singer also invented the genre of *skolia*, sympotic drinking songs (Pi. fr. 126; cf. Dicaearchus fr. 88 W; Plut. *Mor.* 615B–C; Ath. 693F–696A, incl. Artemon fr. 10 FHG 4.342; Hsch. s.v. *skolia*). There is an important connection to be made here with the classical Mesopotamian tuning system, which is known to have been used for both love-songs and divine hymns (Franklin 2002, 698–99). Erotic lyrics are of course prominent in the corpus of Archaic Greek monody (Sappho, Ibycus, Anacreon, Theognis, et al.). The Lydians’ practice of prostituting their daughters, and the common use of harps by *hetairai* in Athens, where the Lydian-style symposium lived on in the fifth century, is surely also relevant – and accords well with an Assyrianizing Feast of Music with its bevvies of female musicians. As to divine hymns, Terpander came to symbolize the citharodic preludes (*prooimia*), songs to the gods that preceded epic recitation, and, perhaps originally a sort of *paian* to Apollo, began a symposium.¹⁰ Menander Rhetor asserts the prevalence of cletic hymns in “Sappho, Anacreon, and the other melic poets” (3.333.8–20 Spengel; cf. Him. *Or.* 19), and indeed the various lyric appeals to Aphrodite or Eros may themselves be seen as a form of divine summoning. Thus we find a considerable coincidence of Greek and Mesopotamian genre and performance practice, with the evidence converging especially on “Sardis at the height of its wealth.” That these various instruments and practices became associated with the symbolic Terpander is suggestive of the extent to which the Hellenic tradition as a whole was influenced by the Greco-Lydian musical movement and, by extension, elements of the Mesopotamian art.

NOTES

- 1 BM 124947, Rashid (1984, 122 and pl. 142). Textual sources, Luckenbill (1924, 70 [32]); Luckenbill (1926–1927, 2, 143, no. 312). Cf. 2 Kgs. 18:13–37, Isa. 36:1–2; Herodotus, *Hist.* 2.141.

- 2 Louvre AO 19908, Rashid (1984, 134–35, figs. 149–50). For the identification, Cheng (2001, 73–74). Text, Schrader (1889–1892, ii.234).
- 3 Pavement inscription 3.37–45, translation Luckenbill (1926–1927, 2, 50–51); cf. Fuchs (1994, 254–59, 358). *Nigûtu*, "revelry/jubilant," is common of music-making occasions, see Meissner (1920, 1, 331); Kilmer (1997, 468).
- 4 See generally Radet (1893, 82–83, 93, 260–66, 278–80); Mazzarino (1947, 192–99); Hanfmann (1983, 87–90).
- 5 [Hom.] *Marg. POxy.* 3964; Sapph. 22.11, 156; Alc. 36.5; Anac. *PMG* 373, 374, 386; cf. Menaechmus *FGrH* 131 F 4; Euphorion (ap. Ath. 635A). For the *magadis* of Alcman, cf. West 1992, 73. Classical authors, Pi. fr. 125; Soph. fr. 412; Ar. *Thesm.* 1217; Diogenes *TrGF* 45 F 1.9–11; for Telestes; cf. Phrynichus *TrGF* 3 F 11.
- 6 The extensive scholarly discussion of this fragment cannot be addressed here. See most recently West (1997b), with further references.
- 7 Pl. *Resp.* 3.399C–E; Ar. *Pol.* 1341a39–1341b1; Ath. 634F–636F; cf. Barker (1984–1989, 1, 265, n. 21); West (1992, 70–78).
- 8 The strong literary evidence for a seven-stringed standard in the Archaic period (see Franklin 2002, 686) must take precedence over the unreliable ceramic record (on which Maas and Snyder 1989, 124).
- 9 I owe this reference to a lecture at the Center for Hellenic Studies in March 2006 by M. Wecowski, who will examine the chronological problem of reclining in a forthcoming study.
- 10 Theog. 1–10; Xenophanes 1.11–14; Ion fr. 27 *IEG*; Plut. *Mor.* 615B–C; ps.-Plut. *De mus.* 1133C. Cf. West (1971, 307); West (1981, 116, n. 24); Schmitt-Pantel (1990); West (1992, 18–19); Furlley and Bremer (2001, 1, 161–62).

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